

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

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ACDA-19 SAM-01 DRC-01 /117 W
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O R 271408Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4016

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 5509

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF

SUBJ: RABIN INTERVIEW OF SEPT 25

REF: TEL AVIV 5473

1. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER RABIN GAVE INTERVIEW TO MAARIV FOR PUBLICATION SEPT 25 WHICH HAS RECEIVED EXTENSIVE PLAY IN ISRAELI PRESS

(FBIS TEL AVIV 260840Z SEP 74). OF PARTICULAR INTEREST ARE HIS THOUGHTS

ON FUTURE OF ME NEGOTIATIONS. MIN INFO YARIV HELD BACKGROUNDER FOR FOREIGN PRESS ON SEPT 25. BOTH RABIN AND YARIV ACCENTUATED POSITIVE RE NEXT STEPS. END SUMMARY.

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF RABIN INTERVIEW. ON VALE OF INTERIM AGREEMENTS. BEGIN QUOTE...ARAB STATES ARE NOT INCLINED TOWARD AN OVERALL CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLEMENT. FURTHERMORE, ARAB STATE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE MADE IT

CLEAR TO THE US ADMINISTRATION THAT AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE ON THE BASIS OF TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE SIX DAY WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA AND IN THE GAZA STRIP...ON THE OTHER HAND, THE AMERICANS KNOW QUITE WELL-

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AND I MADE THIS CLEAR TO THEM AGAIN IN AN UNEQUIVOCAL MANNER-- THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT AGREE TO AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT THAT DOES NOT PROMISE A GENUINE AND COMPLETE PEACE AND DOES NOT INCLUDE DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. THESE BORDERS CANNOT BE IDENTICAL TO THE LINES THAT EXISTED BEFORE THE SIX-DAY WAR...THE CONCLUSION THAT IS NOW HELD BY THE US ADMINISTRATION IS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT A WAR AND TO ADVANCE TOWARD PEACE IS THROUGH INTERIM SETTLEMENTS. THIS IS BECAUSE THROUGH INTERIM SETTLEMENTS IT IS POSSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT ANOTHER WAR WILL BE AVERTED, QUIET WILL BE MAINTAINED, AND THE NEED TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE BORDERS, THE FUTURE OF JERUSALEM, AND OTHER ISSUES ON WHICH THE GAP BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF ISRAEL AND THE ARABS IS LARGE AND UNBRIDGABLE WILL BE AVOIDED. MY PERSONAL EVALUATION IS THAT THIS IS THE CORRECT APPROACH...BECAUSE IN AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE MORE EXTENSIVE AND BECAUSE IN AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TEST EVERY STAGE BEFORE ADVANCING TO THE NEXT STAGE BEFORE ADVANCING TO THE NEXT STAGE. IF THE ARAB STATES INSIST ON PROGRESS IN STAGES TOWARD PEACE, THE SITUATION WILL BE DIFFERENT IN EACH SECTOR, IN ACCORDANCE WITH GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS. EVEN IN SUCH A CASE, HOWEVER, WE WILL BE PREPARED TO PRESENT DETAILED POSITIONS. END QUOTE.

3. ON SYRIA. BEGIN QUOTE. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO BELIEVE THAT SYRIA WOULD GO TO WAR AGAINST ISRAEL WITHOUT KNOWING IN ADVANCE THAT EGYPT AND PERHAPS OTHER ARAB STATES WOULD JOIN THIS WAR. IMPORTANCE IS ATTACHED TO EFFORTS TO ADVANCE TOWARD SETTLEMENTS WITH EGYPT AND JORDAN, AND I BELIEVE THERE IS ROOM AND SPACE FOR MANEUVER FOR A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. END QUOTE.

4. ON JORDAN. BEGIN QUOTE. WE HAVE NO REPORTS THAT CONFIRM JORDAN'S WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS AND AGREEMENT WITH US THAT IS NOT A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT...I HOPE THAT JORDAN
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WILL CHANGE ITS APPROACH...A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IN WHICH ISRAEL LEAVES TERRITORIES UNDER ITS CONTROL IN RETURN FOR AN ARAB AGREEMENT WITHOUT POLITICAL COMPENSATION ON THE WAY TO PEACE WILL NOT WORK. I EXPLAINED THIS POINT VERY CLEARLY TO PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER. I LEFT NO ROOM FOR DOUBT OR MISUNDERSTANDING. END QUOTE.

5. ON EGYPT. BEGIN QUOTE...I HOPE THAT RELATIONS OF CONFIDENCE,

IN FACT, HAVE BEEN CREATED, ARE BEING CREATED, AND WILL BE CREATED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, AND PERHAPS EVEN BETWEEN ISRAEL AND OTHER ARAB STATES. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE WAY THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED IS MORE CONSISTENT WITH ITS LETTER AND SPIRIT THAN THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN AGREEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. I WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL CREATE A BETTER BASIS FOR FUTURE PROGRESS ON THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN LEVEL. EN QUOTE.

6. ON THE ISRAELI MAP. BEGIN QUOTE. I DO HAVE (A MAP), AND IT IS DETAILED AND CLEAR. IF YOU ASK ME TO GIVE YOU THE DETAILS, I WILL NOT. I WILL DO SO WHEN AN ARAB STATE COMES AND SAYS CLEARLY THAT IT IS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL FOR TRUE PEACE. IF YOU ASK ME WHETHER I HAVE A MAP FOR INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS WITH ONE OR WITH A NUMBER OF ARAB COUNTRIES, AGAIN I WILL ANSWER YES...WHOEVER WANTS TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS WITH US ON AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT MUST ACCEPT THE CONDITION THAT THE PURPOSE IS FOR MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. END QUOTE.

7. ON NEED FOR PUBLIC DECLARATION ON NON-BELLIGERENCY. BEGIN QUOTE. I ATTACH AS MUCH IMPORTANCE TO NONBELLIGERENCY DECLARATION AS TO ITS PRACTICAL DETAILS. THERE SHOULD BE A PUBLIC AND FRANK DECLARATION TO INDICATE A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL POSITIONS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. I SEE A CLOSE AND UNBROKEN LINK BETWEEN A DECLARATION OF NONBELLIGERENCY AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION ON THE GROUND. END QUOTE.

8. ON SEPT 25 MINISTER OF INFORMATION YARIV BACKGROUNDED FOREIGN PRESS FOR FIRST TIME IN THREE MONTHS. YARIV VOLUNTEERED THAT CABINET IS STARTING TO PREPARE DETAILED POSITIONS AND MAPS AND THAT GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTEREST IN MAINTAINING STATUS QUO--
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IT WOULD ONLY LEAD TO WAR. HE SAID ISRAEL WAS READY TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS IN RETURN FOR FORMAL COMMITMENT OF EGYPTIAN NON-BELLIGERENCY. ASKED WHETHER STATEMENT OF NON-BELLIGERENCY MIGHT NOT BE A NON-STARTER, YARIV SEEMED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT IT MIGHT BE ASKING TOO MUCH FOR EGYPT TO PUBLICLY SURRENDER ITS MILITARY OPTION, AND MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF STEPS LEADING TO NON-BELLIGERENCY THAT WOULD NOT REQUIRE FORMAL RENUNCIATION. (JOURNALISTS ASSUMED THAT HE MEANT MEASURES IN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY FIELDS. WE NOTE THAT YARIV IS LESS FIRM ON NEED FOR EGYPTIAN PUBLIC STATEMENT THAN RABIN (PARA 7 ABOVE). JOURNALISTS ALSO MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF SOME TIME-TRIGGERED AGREEMENT ON NON-BELLIGERENCY THAT WOULD ONLY COME INTO EFFECT FOLLOWING A PERIOD OF PEACE. YARIV DID NOT ENDORSE THIS CONCEPT, BUT AGREED IT WAS WORTH THINKING ABOUT. JOURNALISTS DESCRIBED SESSION AS DESIGNED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT GOI WAS

READY FOR ANYTHIN-PEACE EFFORTS OR WAR.

9. COMMENT: RABIN INTERVIEW, YARIV BACKGROUNDER AND OTHER STATEMENTS BY ISRAELI LEADERS INPAST FEW DAYS (REFTEL) APPEAR TO BE ORCHESTRATED ATTEMPT BY GOI BOTH TO EMPHASIZE ITS READINESS TO PROCEED TO NEXT STEPS IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND TO PREPARE ISRAELI PUBLIC--WITH REFERENCES TO " POSITIONS" AND "MAPS"--TO BEGIN TO FOCUS ON SUBSTANCE OF ISRAELI CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED. VELIOTES

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